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*American Ideals, and Other Essays, Social and Political* By THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Pp. vi, 354. Price, \$1.50. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897.

This volume brings together a series of fifteen essays which have appeared in magazine form from time to time during the past twelve years. They fall readily into four groups. The first four—"American Ideals"; "True Americanism"; "The Manly Virtues and Practical Politics," and "The College Graduate and Public Life"—are concerned with the elements of patriotism and with the qualities that fit a man for serviceableness in a democracy like our own. The essays of the second group—"Phases of State Legislation"; "Administering the New York Police Force"; "Machine Politics in New York City"; and "Six Years of Civil Service Reform"—are keen analyses of present American political institutions by a man who from the closest contact knows whereof he speaks. In the "Vice-Presidency and the Campaign of 1896"; "How Not to Help Our Poorer Brother"; "The Monroe Doctrine"; and "Washington's Forgotten Maxim" certain questions of national policy receive vigorous treatment. The last three of the essays are elaborate and spirited reviews of three of the most striking of recent contributions in the field of social science.

In Mr. Roosevelt's view Americanism is not a narrow, petty thing, a cloak for national defects. It is raised above localism or sectionalism—"the patriotism of the village or of the belfry"—and stands in broad contrast with that lack of patriotism which masquerades as cosmopolitanism. "It is a matter of spirit, conviction and purpose, not of creed or of birthplace." In false ideals he finds not a few obstacles to the maintenance of such a broad Americanism. Not so much to be dreaded are open assaults upon American institutions; the dangers lie rather in the influence of men who, while keeping within the pale of the law and maintaining a certain respectability, still undermine public and private morality by their example. Very timely is the warning against our American love of smartness, our worship of success however won, the pernicious influence of demagogues and the coarsening effect of a materialism that seeks no higher national good than money and money's worth.

"The Manly Virtues and Practical Politics," and also "The College Graduate and Public Life" lay stress upon the necessity of "supplementing the gospel of morality by the gospel of efficiency," a doctrine which Mr. Roosevelt's own career has clearly exemplified. College education too often develops an aptitude for cynical criticism rather than for practical serviceableness. Yet the college graduate

"is bound to rank action far above criticism, and to understand that the man deserving of credit is the man who actually does the things, even though imperfectly, and not the man who confines himself to telling about how they ought to be done." How this doctrine of efficiency may be carried out is the theme of the four essays which follow. Here Mr. Roosevelt speaks from actual experience as a member of the New York Assembly, as Civil Service Commissioner and as Police Commissioner of the City of New York. Though now a dozen years old, "Some Phases of State Legislation" offers to the reader perhaps the best presentation of our American state legislatures. In his "American Commonwealth" Mr. Bryce puts this essay under heavy tribute. The humors and discouragements of legislative work are vividly portrayed. Unsatisfactory, disgraceful even as is much of our legislative material, the responsibility is to be traced back to the constituents themselves and to the men of influence whose self-interest or laziness keeps them from bringing in a new order. It is to be regretted that, instead of revising this essay and illustrating it still further from the striking experiences of the last twelve years, Mr. Roosevelt has contented himself with saying, by way of a foot note: "At present, I should say that there was rather less personal corruption in the legislature; but also less independence and greater subservience to the machine, which is even less responsive to honest and enlightened public opinion."

Less successful is the discussion of questions of national policy. The essays never conceal their writer's personality. Everywhere there is robustness, virility; but the "manly virtues" are made synonymous with "the fighting qualities," and the favorite metaphors are drawn from the football field or the prize ring. Yet the fighter, devoting his energies to the administering of "punishment," is not always in a mood to pass candidly upon the ethics of the question at issue. Despite obvious effort, in these essays Mr. Roosevelt not infrequently shows himself by temperament hardly less a partisan and a "punisher" than a patriot. He deems it undesirable to define the Monroe Doctrine "so rigidly as to prevent our taking into account the varying degrees of national interest in varying cases." To his own mind it is obvious that its observance should be enforced in the two Americas, "and in the islands on either side of them," while "every true patriot, every man of statesman-like habit should look forward to the day when not a single European power will hold a foot of American soil." A hint as to the process by which this consummation is to be brought about may be found

in the assertion: "The diplomat is the servant, not the master, of the soldier."

To a fighter holding views like these it is not strange that argument by epithet should appeal. The man who ventures to question whether intervention in the Venezuelan controversy was involved in anything which can properly be called the Monroe Doctrine, or whether the bully's place among the nations is the highest goal for the United States, is straightway annihilated by being dubbed "anti-American," his queries and arguments are disposed of by the assertion that those who on these points differ with the essayist are "too short-sighted or too unimaginative to realize the hurt to the nation that would be caused by the adoption of their views;" or "they have not thought much of the matter, or are in unfortunate surroundings by which they have been influenced to their own moral hurt;" or this taking of "the wrong—that is, the anti-American side," is due to "sheer timidity." Consistency is not always too apparent. Thus, in the fervor of a discussion of the Monroe Doctrine a European colony like British Guiana, "looked at through the vista of the centuries," is made to play a pitiable figure as compared with Venezuela or Ecuador. But in reviewing Pearson's "National Life and Character," the essayist lightly tells us: "No American or Australian cares in the least that the tan-colored peoples of Brazil and Ecuador now live under governments of their own instead of being ruled by viceroys from Portugal and Spain."

On the whole, it may be questioned whether these essays did not make their best impression in their original form of publication. Through them all there sounds the note of sturdy patriotism; their verve is admirable. But in consecutive reading there is some danger that they may pall. The favorite ideas reappear upon the stage at frequent intervals, and their costumes, though brilliant, are too little varied.

GEORGE H. HAYNES.

*Worcester Polytechnic Institute.*

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*A Quaker Experiment in Government.* A history of the connection of the Quakers with the government of Pennsylvania, from 1682 to 1756. By ISAAC SHARPLESS, President of Haverford College. Pp. 280. Price, \$1.50. Philadelphia: Alfred J. Ferris, 1898.

There was a need for a study of the political history of the Pennsylvania Quakers during the first hundred years of the life of the colony which Penn founded for the purpose of realizing the ideals of government and religion held by himself and his fellow-believers. Former students have relied upon political records for